Lokanīti: **Method of Adaption and New Vocabulary**

UJJWAL KUMAR

University of Calcutta, Kolkata, India

ujjwal1980@gmail.com

In this paper I have made an attempt to discuss the adaptation method and new vocabulary employed and introduced by the *Lokanīti* (Ln). This text was composed in Burma most probably by Catruṅgabala around the fourteenth century CE. In premodern Burma Ln was used in monasteries to inculcate guidance on worldly affairs and everyday morality to the Burmese house-holders in general and to the Buddhist monks in particular.

Pāli literature has numerous instances of moral precepts delivered by the Buddha and his disciples. Despite this fact, however, the main source of Pāli *nīti* literature[1] has been the Sanskrit *nīti* literature. There are many reasons behind this. One of them is that most of the sermons of the Buddha are in prose, and the *gāthā* or poetical sections form a very small fraction of the Pāli Canon. On a careful scrutiny of the canonical *gāthā* literature, it becomes apparent that it does not contain as much variety of practical morality as the Sanskrit *subhāṣitās*[2] ('good sayings') do. With the exception of the *Dhammapada*, almost all the verses (*gāthās*) from the Pāli *gāthā* literature that are worthy to be called *subhāṣita*s are basically a part of some important moral precepts. Hence, their existence as independent *subhāṣita*s could not be established. There was no collection of *gāthās* except the *Dhammapada* and the *Suttanipāta* that could be referred to as *subhāṣita*s brought together until the four-

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1. The word *nīti*, common to both Sanskrit and Pāli, is derived from the root √*nī* and has various meanings: 1. Guidance, direction, management; 2. Conduct, behaviour, course of action; 3. Propriety, decorum; 4. Policy, prudence, wisdom, right course; 5. Plan, contrivance, scheme; 6. Politics, political science, statesmanship, political wisdom; 7. Righteousness, moral conduct, morality, etc. *Nīti* also indicates a branch of study (see *Milindapañha* 3). In the *Saddanīti*, a famous Pāli grammar text, the word *nīti* signifies 'policy or method'. Thus, one may articulate that the Sanskrit-Pāli word '*nīti*' is equivalent to 'conduct'. As applied to literature, it is a general term for a treatise which includes maxims, pithy sayings, and didactic stories. Treatises of this kind, intended as a guide in respect of matters of everyday life, help an individual to build his or her character and form good relations with others.

2. *Subhāṣita*s contain sententious precepts, a descriptive verse or a poetical verse standing by itself, depicting a single emotion (Sternbach 1974, 2, 3).

Keywords: *Lokanīti, nīti* literature, *subhāṣitās*, Pāli literature from Sanskrit, Burma

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teenth century. It would not be improper to say that the collection of *gāthā*s similar to that of the *subhāṣita*s from the Pāli literature and their compilation according to their subject matter began with the composition of the Pāli *nīti* texts.

Historically speaking a new era in Pāli literature commenced in the twelfth century during the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1164–1186) (see Malalasekera 1958, 175) as a result of the improvements or modifications made in the Order in Sri Lanka. Parākramabāhu I completed his education by travelling to foreign countries. During his time, efforts were made to produce a grammatical tradition in Pāli similar to that in Sanskrit, keeping in mind the abundant and long grammatical tradition in Sanskrit. The efforts resulted in the rise of the *Moggallāna* grammatical tradition that was influenced by the *Cāndra* grammatical tradition initiated by Candragomin, who is thought to have lived around the fourth to fifth century CE. Likewise, texts like the *Vuttodaya* and the *Subodhālaṅkāra* were composed by Saṅgharakkhita, following the *Kāvyadarśa* of Daṇḍin, prosody of Piṅgala and *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedārabhaṭṭa. In the field of lexicography, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* and its commentarial literature were composed following the structure of the *Amarakośa*. In the same way the authors of Pāli *nīti* literature had the well established long tradition of Sanskrit *nīti* literature all the while to follow. The Sanskrit *subhāṣita*s had insightful expositions on subjects connected with daily life. They contain the variety of subjects as well as a simplicity of expression. It seems obvious that the Pāli *nītikāra*s would base their compositions on this treasure that was well established. The similarity between Sanskrit and Pāli was helpful in this imitation, not only from the point of view of content but also for expression.

The process of transformation of Sanskrit *nīti* literature into Pāli is significant from the point of view of the transition of both content and expression. When a literature composed in a particular cultural and linguistic context gets transformed into a new context, it is inevitable that changes are incorporated in the content as well as expression according to the new context. Therefore, it is essential to study the source literature comparatively for a better understanding of the process of transition.

1. General introduction to the *Lokanīti*

The Ln is one of the well-regarded works in Burma. The authorship of the Ln has not been determined so far by the earlier scholars who dealt with this text. The text itself gives no clue as to its authorship. Therefore, opinions about author and date of Ln are widely at variance, and the arguments so far proposed for dating the text are not quite convincing.

In Burma there are two popular beliefs about the authorship of Ln. The first and foremost, without any substantial evidence, is that of the main stream of Burmese tradition. This seems to attribute the Ln to Caturaṅgabala, a well-known Burmese scholar who lived in the middle part of the fourteenth century at the court of the Burmese kings Ngashishin (1343–1350) and Kyawswange or Thihathu (1350–1359) at Pinya (Bechert and Braun 1981, xlix). The *Abhidhānappadipkā-vaṇṇanā* or *ṭika* is composed by Caturaṅgabala, which is confirmed by *Piṭakat samuiṅ* (Piṭ-sm 452).

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* of Paññāsāmi also narrated the life story of Caturaṅgabala and his authorship of the *Abhidhānappadipkā-vaṇṇanā.*

However, we have no firm evidence for his presumed authorship of Ln. As Bechert and Braun (1981, xlix–l) pointed out,

> the earliest reference to this tradition seemsto be found in the concluding verses of the *Lokanīti* pyui by Ū Rhaṅ Kale, a rendering of the *Lokanīti* in Burmese verses which was composed in 1880 (published in Nan Ññvan Chve 1961, p. 321–346; for this passage, cf. p. 345). The statement in the *Mranmā cvay cuṃ kyam* that Caturaṅgabala was the author of *Lokanīti* seems to be based on this epilogue.

R. C. Temple who studied and translated the *Lokanīti* into English for the first time, most probably from a Burmese translation, could not find out much about the history of this book, although he personally made enquiries to get information from the Burmese *sayā*s (learned men). Temple (1878, 239) reported that,

> according to one account, it was written originally at an unknown date in Sanskrit (? Pāli) by the Pōngnā (Brāhmaṇ) Sānnêkgyaw (Burmese name) and paraphrased into Burmese in 1826 by the Hpōngyi U Pōk of the Mahā Oung Mye Bōng San Ok Kyoung (the Great Brick Built Monastery in the Sacred Place) at Ava. This U Pōk's name as priest was Sek-kān-da-bī, to which the king of Ava added the titles of Thīri Thāddamma-daza, Mahā Dama-yāza Guru (Sri Saddharmadhaja, Mahā Dharmarāja Guru).

Further Temple (1878, 239) says,

> the author was a priest without very extraordinary knowledge of Pāli who either collected the maxims from old books or collected some of them and added others of his own composition. This opinion is corroborated by the unequal merit of the original Pāli verses and by the many grammatical and other errors observable in them even upon a superficial examination.

Sternbach (1969b, 37), in response to Temple's argument, argues that

> Temple probably refers to one of the translations of the Pāli *Lokanīti* into Burmese, while the Pāli text was known in Burma much earlier. Therefore, it is quite possible that the *Lokanīti* was composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century and that the two other nīti collections [*Dhammanīti* and *Rājanīti*] were compiled not much later.

Regrettably, Sternbach does not give any evidence to support his hypothesis. Later on, Sternbach (1973, 52.8) dated the text as composed quite possibly 'in the beginning of the fourteenth century', but, again, without providing any evidence for this date.

James Gray (1886, ix–x), another English translator of Ln reports,

> Sanskrit editions of the three *nītis* [*Lokanīti, Rājanīti* and *Dhmmanīti*] are to be found among the Manipurian Punnas, who, driven from their native abode by the vicissitudes of war, made a home for themselves in Burma. They were written in Bengali characters, but editions in Sanskritised Burmese were also procurable. ...The Sanskrit *Lokanīti* originally contained 109 verses, which, in the Burmese version, have been expanded to 167 *gāthā*s.

Sternbach (1969b, 38) refutes Gray's account of the origin of Ln among Manipurian Puṇṇās and says: 'It is not clear from Gray's account whether he really saw the Sanskritised *Lokanīti* or only heard about its existence. Despite careful search, not only in Burma but also in India, I could not find a single text of the Sanskitised *Lokanīti…*'.

On the basis of an imitation of verse 61 of the Ln on a Pagan inscription which was inscribed in 1408 CE, Gerolamo Emilio Gerini (1904, 139f.) puts forth the date of compilation of Ln between the time of Buddhaghosa and the date of establishment of the inscription. He thus holds that the Ln was composed some time between 425 and 1400 CE. He saw the date *a quo* as that of the commentary to the *Dhammapada* — the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* — ascribed to Buddhaghosa, in which he could notice 'strict analogies' between certain passages of the Ln and the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*. Though this argument is very strong and valid, Bechert and Braun (1981, l), are not ready to accept it. They think that the author of the inscription could have modeled his text after the Sanskrit source of the verse in question and did not necessarily make use of the Ln collection.

According to an evaluation of the sources and parallels of the verses, Bechert and Braun (1981, l) assume that the author of Ln has taken material from the *Dhammanīti* (composed around the thirteenth to fourteenth century). This observation provides us with a *terminus post quem*. Apart from the reference in the Arakanese chronicle quoted by Gray, there is, however, no reliable *terminus ante quem* earlier than the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it is hardly possible that a book which has obtained such popularity and fame at that time should not have been compiled at a considerably earlier time. An additional difficulty arises from the fact that the name *Lokanīti* could not only refer to our text but was also used as a rather general term for a class of literary works, viz. for *nīti* texts in verses. Under these circumstances, we cannot give a more accurate answer to the question about the date of Ln than to say that it was compiled in its present form probably between the second half of the fifteenth and the middle of the eighteenth century.

As far as subject matter is concerned, Ln consists of 167 verses and is divided into seven chapters (Pāli *kaṇḍa*): (1) the section on the wise man (*Paṇḍitakaṇḍa* 1–40); (2) the section on the good man (*Sujanakaṇḍa* 41–67); (3) the section on the evil-doer (*Dujjanakaṇḍa* 68–78); (4) the section on the friendship (*Mittakaṇḍa* 79–93); (5) the section on women (*Itthikaṇḍa* 94–111); (6) the section on kings (*Rājakaṇḍa* 112–137); and the miscellanea section (*Missakakaṇḍa* 138–167). The author or compiler clearly states in the opening stanzas his object in undertaking this work, and mentions the name of the text as *Lokanīti*. In the very first stanza of Ln the author also says something on its sources and does not claim that this treatise is his own composition:

> *lokanītiṃpavakkhāmi, nānāsatthasamuddhaṭaṃ |*
> *māgadheneva saṅkhepaṃ, vanditvā ratanattayaṃ ||* Ln 1

> Having paid salutation to the Three Gems, I shall recite the *Lokanīti*, extracted from various treatises concisely in Magadhi.

2. Methods of adaptation in the Lokanīti: Transition of the content

If the Sanskrit *subhāṣita*s that are the sources of Ln are analyzed on the basis of their content, they can be divided into three types. The first type (2.1) includes *subhāṣita*s on a subject matter that is absolutely non-sectarian and secular. In the second type (2.2) there are *subhāṣita*s which appear to be insufficiently Buddhist. The third type (2.3) consists of *subhāṣita*s that express Brahmanic ideas that are contrary to Buddhist thought.

2.1 Ln **gāthā***s from non-sectarian and secular* **subhāṣitas**

There are two kinds of opinions among the Pāli *nītikāra*s regarding the first type. Here, the Sanskrit *subhāṣita*s have been incorporated in Pāli without making changes in their content. For example we can see the following *gāthā*s with their parallel Sanskrit sources:

Pāli: *mātā verī pitā satru,*
          yena bālā na sikkhitā |
          sabhāmajjhena sobhanti,
          haṃsamajjhe bakā yathā ‖ Ln 18

          A mother is foe, a father is an enemy. Wherefore? Because their offspring are uneducated in their youth. (The children) are not shining in the midst of the assembly, like herons among swans.

Sanskrit: *mātā śatruḥ pitā vairī,*
          yena bālo na pāṭhitaḥ |
          na śobhate sabhāmadhye,
          haṃsamadhye bako yathā ‖ CN 7 and Cv 2.15, HK Intr. 38, HP Intr. 25, Shn 42.

          (The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

Pāli: *rūpa-yobbana-sampannā,*
          visālakulasambhavā |
          vijjā-hīnā na sobhanti,
          nigandhā iva kiṃsukā ‖ Ln 36

          They who are full of youth and beauty and have a noble lineage, being of little knowledge do not shine; like the Kiṃsuka flower (*Butea frondosa*) without fragrance.

Sanskrit: *rūpayauvanasampannā,*
          viśālakulasambhavāḥ |
          vidyāhīnā na śobhante,
          nirgandhā iva kiṃśukāḥ ‖ CV 3.8 and Cv 3.2, CN 5, Vyās 57, Vyās (C) 51, HK Intr. 39, Subh 8 and 282, Shn 19

          (The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

Pāli: *caja dujjana saṃsaggaṃ,*
          bhaja sādhu samāgamaṃ |

> *kara puññamahorattiṃ,*
> *sara niccamaniccataṃ ‖ Ln 42*

> Abandon the company of bad folk; cultivate the company of the good; do whatever is virtuous day and night; always remember impermanence.

Sanskrit: *tyaja durjanasaṃsargaṃ,*
           bhaja sādhusamāgamam |
           kuru puṇyam ahorātraṃ,
           smara nityaṃ anityatām ‖ CV 14.20 and Cv 6.17, CR 2.11, CS 1.100, Vyās 69

           (The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

Looking at the word for word phonetic adaptations or transformations, it will not be exaggerating to say that such translations or transformations could be helpful in the compilation of their parallel Sanskrit compositions. As an example we can see *gāthā* number 61of the Ln which is an exact reflection of the Sanskrit *subhāṣita* Vyās 43:

Pāli: *na visaṃ visamiccāhu,*
          dhanaṃ saṃghassa uccate |
          visaṃ ekaṃ va hanati,
          sabbaṃ saṃghassa santakaṃ ‖ Ln 61

          A poison, they say, is not a poison; the wealth of the Saṅgha is said to be a poison; poison kills but once; the wealth of the Saṅgha kills entirely.

Sanskrit: *na viṣaṃ viṣaṃ ity āhur,*
           brahmasvaṃ viṣaṃ ucyate |
           viṣaṃ ekākinaṃ hanti,
           brahmasvaṃ putrapautrakam ‖ Vyās 43, Vyās (C) 39, Subh 144

           (The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

In the case of some other *subhāṣita*s, the content of Pāli and Sanskrit corresponds almost completely but a word or two are different in the expression. For example if we see the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *tila mattaṃ paresaṃva,*
          appadosañca passati |
          nāḷikerampi sadosaṃ,
          khalajāto na passati ‖ Ln 75

          A wicked person notices the minor fault of others though as small as a grain of sesame, but his own fault, as large as a coconut, he does not see.

Sanskrit: *khalaḥ sarṣapamātrāṇi,*
           paracchidrāṇi paśyati |
           ātmano bilvamātrāṇi,
           paśyann api na paśyati ‖ HK 1.3 and H.P 1.2, SRH 266.7, Cr 1994

           A wicked man sees the faults of others, even if they are as small as a grain of mustard, (but) knowingly does not want to see his own (faults) even though they are as big as a Bilva-fruit. (Translation taken from MSS: VII 3476)

Here, we see that the Sanskrit *sarṣapa* (mustard) and *bilva* are replaced by the words *tila* (sesame) and *nāḷikera* (coconut) respectively. It is difficult to say whether this change is due to different Sanskrit sources or it is a choice made deliberately by the Pāli *nītikāra* or Burmese writers of words like *tila* and *nāḷikera* that were well known in Burmese society.

One good example of change we can see in the Ln *gāthā* no.122 which is the imitation of SRH 196.108:

Pāli: *bahavo yattha netāro,*
         sabbe paṇḍitamānino |
         sabbe mahattaṃ icchanti,
         tesaṃ kammaṃ vinassati || Ln 122

         Where leaders are many, all consider themselves intelligent, and everybody desires importance: their work comes to nothing.

Sanskrit: *bahavo yatra netāraḥ,*
          sarve paṇḍitamāninaḥ |
          sarve mahattvam icchanti,
          tad vṛndam avasīdati || SRH 196.108 and SV 2724, Subh 90, Nśv 11

          Where there are many leaders, where everybody believes himself to be intelligent, where everybody desires importance, that group perishes.

The first three lines of the verse are found in the Sanskrit verse. The Pāli composer has made a remarkable change in the fourth line. As a result of the reasons mentioned in the first three lines, such a group or community of people are said to be destroyed whereas in the Pāli version, it is said that the actions of such a group are wasted as a result of the same reasons. Though this change could not be called the result of the impact of Buddhist thought, it does underline the different view-point of the writer to replace the group of people with their actions.

Similarly, conspicuous grammatical changes can be seen when there is no difference between the content and the expression. The best example we can see in the following Pāli *nīti gāthā*:

Pāli: *dviguṇo thīnamāhāro,*
         buddhi cāpi catugguṇā |
         chagguṇo hoti vāyāmo,
         kāmo tvaṭṭhaguṇo bhave || Ln 161

         The appetite of a woman is twice bigger (than that of a man); their astuteness four times, their determination six times, and their sexual desire eight times.

Sanskrit: *āhāro dviguṇaḥ strīṇāṃ,*
          buddhis tāsāṃ caturguṇā |
          ṣaḍguṇo vyavasāyaśca,
          kāmaś cāṣṭguṇaḥ smṛtaḥ || CN 76, CV 1.17, Cv 1.18, CR 2.41, HJ 2.118 and 4.8, HK 2.117.

          (The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

*2.2 Ln **gāthā**s from **subhāṣita**s which appear to be insufficiently Buddhist*

In the second type, the Pāli writers, by making changes according to their Buddhist thought, have tried to shade the secular *gāthā*s with the colour of Buddhism. For example we can see the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *alasassa kuto sippaṃ,*
asippassa kuto dhanaṃ |
adhanassa kuto mittaṃ,
amittassa kuto sukhaṃ |
asukhassakuto puññaṃ,
apuññassa kuto nibbānaṃ || Ln 3

How can there be skill for one who is indolent, wealth for one without skill, friendship for one without prosperity, happiness for the friendless, merit for the despondent, and Nibbāna for the unmeritorious person?

Undoubtedly this *gāthā* has been taken from the following Sanskrit *subhāṣita*:

Sanskrit: *alasasya kutaḥ śilpam,*
aśilpasya kuto dhanam |
adhanasya kuto mitram,
amitrasya kutaḥ sukham || Prś 74

(The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

By adding two extra lines at the end of this popular Sanskrit *subhāṣita*, the series of causes from the *subhāṣita* lead on to Buddhist principles; and to give this verse an unequivocally Buddhist character Pāli *nītikāra* adds two more *pāda*s, thereby making a peculiar metre consisting of six *pāda*s.

We can see another example of change in the following Pāli *nīti gāthā* which is also based on a Sanskrit *subhāṣita*:

Pāli: *sukkhopi candanatarū na jahāti gandhaṃ,*
nāgo gato raṇamukhe na jahāti līḷaṃ |
yantāgato madhurasaṃ na jahāti ucchu,
dukkhopi paṇḍitajano na jahāti dhammaṃ || Ln 45

The sandal-tree does not lose its fragrance even when it has become dry; an elephant does not lose its 'playfulness' even in a battlefield; sugar-cane, being brought under a pressing-machine, does not lose its sweet juice; a wise man even under affliction does not abandon *dhamma.*

Sanskrit: *chinno 'pi candanatarur na jahāti gandham,*
vṛddho 'pi vāraṇapatir na jahāti līlām |
yantrārpito madhuratāṃ na jahāti cekṣuḥ,
kṣīno'pi na tyajati śīlaguṇān kulīnaḥ || CV 15.18 (Vasantatilakā metre)

The sandal-tree, even when struck down, does not give up its smell. The lordly elephant, even when old, does not leave 'playfulness'. Sugarcane, even when crushed (lit. put in the machine), does not lose its sweetness. A

man of noble descent, even when reduced to poverty, does not forsake his high conduct and virtues. (Translation taken from MSS: VIII. 14643)

The Pāli *gātha* cannot be called an exact transformation of the Sanskrit verse even though there is similarity of the metre. Different words are used in each of the first three lines and the expression in the fourth line of the Sanskrit verse is changed to suit Buddhist thought.

Similarly, in the following Pāli *gāthā*:

Pāli: *sakiṃ vadanti rājāno,*
          sakiṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇā |
          sakiṃ sappurisā loke,
          esa dhammo sanantano || Ln 120

          Kings say (something only) once, so also Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. Good men, in the world, speak but once: this is eternal Dhamma (i.e. the rule has been practiced since ancient times).

Sanskrit: *sakṛj jalpanti rājānaḥ,*
          sakṛj jalpanti paṇḍitāḥ | CV 4.11ab

          Kings speak [only] once, the wise speak [only] once.

The Pāli is a combination of Sanskrit (CV 4.11 ab) and Pāli sources (*pāda* d= *Dhammapada* 5d). The word '*paṇḍita*' in the second line of the Sanskrit verse is changed to the more familiar word in Pāli tradition '*samaṇabrāhmaṇā*'. In the same way, the worldly/material expression is changed into a philosophical expression and the last line is also changed into a popular expression from the *Dhammapada.*

Likewise, in the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *niddāluko pamattoca,*
          sukhatto rogavālaso |
          mahiccho kammārāmo ca,
          satte te satthavajjitā || Ln 143

          One who sleeps more, as well as one who is negligent, one who lives comfortably as well as one who is sick, one who is lazy, or greedy, and one who delights in action — these seven have nothing to do with knowledge.

Sanskrit: *alaso mandabuddhiśca,*
          sukhito vyādhipīḍitaḥ |
          nidrāluḥ kāmukaś caiva,
          ṣaḍete śāstravarjitāḥ ||
          Vyās 75, Subh 112, MSS 3165

          One who is indolent, foolish, one who lives comfortably, afflicted with diseases, excessively sleeping, and sensual — these six types of people are deprived of knowledge.

Whereas in the present Sanskrit verse there are six kinds of people who are unable to obtain knowledge, in the Pāli version the number is changed to seven. Apart from the similarity of content, some changes require careful attention. In the Sanskrit

verse, a foolish and a lustful person are included, whereas in the Pāli version, one who is slothful and greedy are included, keeping the Buddhist view in mind.

In *gāthā* 73 of the *Lokanīti* we find a very good example of imitation of Sanskrit sources in Pāli:

Pāli: *ghare duṭṭho ca mūsiko,*
           vane duṭṭho ca vānaro |
           sakuṇe ca duṭṭho kāko,
           nare duṭṭhoca brāhmaṇo ‖ Ln 73

           A mouse is a bad one in a house; in the forest, the monkey; among birds, the crow; among men, a Brāhmaṇa.

The following two *gāthā*s are identified as possible sources of the Pāli *gāthā*:

           narānāṃ nāpito dhūrttaḥ,
           pakṣiṇāṃ caiva vāyasaḥ |
           catuṣpadāṃ śrigālastu,
           dhūrtāstrīṇāṃ ca mālinī ‖ CV 5.21

           Among humans, the barber is cunning; among birds, the crow; among the four-footed, the wolf; and among women, the gardener's wife (*mālina*) is cunning.

           pakṣiṇāṃ kākaścāṇḍālaḥ
           paśūnāṃ caiva kukkuraḥ |
           munīnāṃ kopī cāṇḍālaḥ
           sarvacāṇḍālaninditaḥ ‖ CV 6.2

           Among birds the crow and among animals the dog are stupid (*cāṇḍāla*). Among sages the grumpy are *cāṇḍāla* which is condemned by all who are *cāṇḍāla.*

The change in the words does not indicate the influence of the Buddhist thought but it does clearly indicate who Buddhists had an unfavourable view of. There is similarity of content and expression between the three verses. Even so, the first one of the two *subhāṣitas* is closer to the Pāli *gāthā*. In the Sanskrit verse the most cunning among animals and humans are mentioned. But in the Pāli version the first line mentions the most problematic in a particular place and then mentions the most problematic in particular groups in the latter half. The last line of the Pāli version picks Brahmins as the bad ones whereas the Sanskrit verse says that a barber is the most cunning among men. The barbers are looked down upon even in modern Indian society, which is still divided by the caste system. The writer of the Ln*,* who is not directly connected with the Indian framework, has replaced the word 'barber' with 'Brāhmaṇa' following the age-old Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇa conflict. Sean Tu (1962, 73), a Burmese scholar who translated the Ln into the English, opines that, 'One of the traditional castes of the Hindu social system here refers to the Brahmin astrologers and court functionaries by whose advice the Myanmar kings were often guided.'

2.3 Subhāṣita*s that express Brahmanic ideas that are contrary to Buddhist thought*

The *subhāṣita*s that appear to be inconsistent with Buddhist thought as far as content is concerned can be put in this category. The Pāli *nītikāra*s have tried to remove the inconsistencies and model them according to Buddhist doctrines. The parts that did not correspond to the Buddhist thought were changed to suit the Buddhist principles. The following are some examples.

Pāli: *jīvantāpi matāpañca,*
          byāsena parikittitā |
          dukkhito byādhito mūḷho,
          iṇavā nityasevako || Ln 141

          Although living, five persons are declared to be dead by the (*nīti* teacher) Vyāsa — one in poverty, one in sickness, a fool, one in debt, and one who serves a king.

Sanskrit: *jīvanto 'pi mṛtāḥ pañca,*
           vyāsena parikīrtitaḥ |
           daridro vyādhito mūrkhaḥ,
           pravasī nityasevakḥ || PP 1.264 and Pts 1.266

           Although living, five persons are declared to be dead by the (*nīti* teacher) Vyāsa — one in poverty, one in sickness, a fool, people who went on long journeys, and one who serves a king.

Here the Pāli *nītikāra* has changed the words indicating five persons who are as if dead. If we look into the Indian framework, on many occasions, people who went on long journeys would never return. Therefore, the writer must have included the 'traveler' in the list of five. In the Buddhist context it is not proper to say such a thing with reference to a monk who is always on the move. Probably this is why the Pāli writer changed the word *pravasī* (who went on long journeys) to *iṇavā* (one in debt).

    Similarly in the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *aggi āpo itthi mūḷho,*
          sappo rājakulāni ca |
          yatanenāpagantabbā,
          sajju pāṇaharāṇi ti || Ln 125

          Fire, water, a woman, a fool, a snake, and royal families — they take away life suddenly, so one should stay away diligently.

Sanskrit: *agnir āpaḥ striyo mūrkhāḥ,*
           sarpā riājakulāni ca |
           nityaṃ yatnena sevyāni,
           sadyaḥ prāṇharāṇi ṣaṭ ||
           CV 14.12 and Cv 5.19, CS 3.94, Shn 69

           Fire, water, a woman, a fool, a snake, and royal families — these six take away life suddenly, so one should handle them carefully.

Here the third Pāli line would have been more consistent with its Sanskrit counter part if it was 'yatanenupagantabbā'. There are two possibilities here. One is that the reading *was* originally 'yatanenupagantabbā' but got corrupted later on. The other possibility is that the writer had changed the expression '*yatanenāpagantabbā*' deliberately. The Sanskrit verse states that there are six things which need to be handled carefully otherwise they can be life threatening. Among the six, one is women. It is quite inappropriate from the Buddhist point of view for a monk and lay man to 'handle' women carefully. Therefore, the writer might have changed the third line to '*yatanenāpagantabbā*', meaning that these six things are *to be avoided* as they can be life threatening which is consistent with the Buddhist thought.

The following *gāthā* of Pāli *nīti*:

Pāli: *natthi vijjāsamaṃ mittaṃ,*
          na ca byādhisamo ripu |
          na ca attasamaṃ pemaṃ,
          na ca kammasamaṃ balaṃ || Ln 23

There is no friend like knowledge; no enemy like disease; no one as dear as oneself; no power like that of *kamma.*

is openly taken from Vyās 21 –

nāsti vidyāsamaṃ mitraṃ,
nāsti vyādhisamo ripuḥ |
na cāpatyasamaḥ sneho,
na ca daivāt paraṃ balam || Vyās 21

There is no friend like knowledge; no enemy like disease; no love like love of child; no power like that of destiny.

The above can be quoted as an example of verses belonging to the third type that are influenced by the Brahmanic tradition. The Pāli *nītikāra* has changed the word '*daiva*' which means 'destiny' in the Brahmanic tradition to '*kamma*', thus making it consistent with Buddhist thought. Similarly, the writer has changed the word '*apatya*', meaning a child, to '*atta*' meaning 'oneself'. But this tendency is not apparent everywhere. This is seen in the following Pāli *nīti gāthā*:

Pāli: *dhanavā sottiyo rājā,*
          nadī vejjo c' imepañca |
          pañcayattha na vijjanti,
          na tattha divasaṃ vase || Ln 113

A man of wealth, a man of learning, a king, a river, and likewise a doctor — in whatever place these five are not to be found, a man should not live there even for a day.

— which is taken from the Cv 1.9:

Sanskrit: *dhanakaḥ śrotriyo rājā,*
            nadī vaidyas tu pañcamaḥ |
            pañca yatra na vidyante,
            na tatra divasaṃ vaset || Cv 1.9

(The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

Here, the Pāli *nītikāra* has not changed the word '*śrotriyo*', meaning one who has learnt the *Veda*s. It is notable here that the *Sabhiya Sutta* (533, 534) from the *Suttanipāta* explains the word '*sottiyo*' in a moral way.[3] Probably this is the reason that the writer did not feel it necessary to change the word.

3. Methods of adaptation in the *Lokanīti*: Transition of the expression

The process of transition of expression seems to be more complicated than that of the content. Thus we see issues concerning: (3.1) choice of metre, (3.2) impact of abridgement of metre on style and expression, (3.3) application of particular words or collection of words, (3.4) sensitivity towards language, (3.5) particular length of expression, (3.6) *gāthā*s with corrupt forms, and (3.7) cases where there is uncertainty on Sanskrit sources.

3.1 Choice of metre

The Pāli *nītikāra*s have selected either the *Anuṣṭhubh* (Pāli *Anuṭṭhubha*) metre containing eight syllables or the *Śloka* (Pāli *Siloka*) metre most of the time. The tendency of the writer to use short metres is noticeable even in the translations in Pāli. For example we can see the following Pāli *gāthā*:

Pāli: *bhojanaṃ methunaṃ niddā,*
          gave pose ca vijjati |
          vijjā viseso posassa,
          taṃ hīno gosamo bhave || Ln 22

          Food, copulation and sleep, are found in both bull and man; knowledge is peculiar to man: one who is defective (in this) is similar to the bull.

— which is a translation of the Sanskrit verse set in the *Upajāti* metre consisting of 11 syllables of the CV 17.17.

Sanskrit: *āhāranidrābhayamaithunāni,*
            samāni caitāni nṛṇāṃ paśūnām |
            jñānaṃ narāṇām adhiko viśeṣo
            jñānena hīnāḥ paśubhiḥ samānāḥ || CV 17.17

            Hunger, sleep, fear and copulation are common to men and cattle. Men have more knowledge; men devoid of knowledge are equal to cattle. (Translation taken from MSS 5700 with some modifications)

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3.   *sutvā sabbadhammaṃ abhiññāya loke, (sabhiyāti bhagavā)*
      sāvajjānavajjaṃ yadatthi kiñci;
      abhibhuṃ akathaṃkathiṃ vimuttaṃ,
      anighaṃ sabbadhimāhu sottiyoti. (Suttanipāta 534)

      'Having heard (and) understood every doctrine in the world, Sahiya', said the Blessed One, '(and) whatever is blamable and blameless, one who overcomes, (is) without doubt, completely released, without affliction in every respect, him they call "versed in sacred knowledge"'. (Translation taken from Norman 1992, 59)

Similarly we can see the following Pāli *nīti gāthā*:

Pāli: *haṃso majjhe na kākānaṃ,*
             sīho gunnaṃ na sobhate |
             gadrabhamajjhe turaṅgo,
             bālamajjhe na paṇḍito || Ln 24

             A swan does not shine (look right) among crows, a lion among bulls, a horse
             in the midst of asses, and a wise man among fools.

— which is the translation of a Sanskrit *nīti* verse composed in *Vasantatilakā* con-
sisting of 14 syllables:

Sanskrit: *haṃso na bhāti balibhojanavṛndamadhye,*
            gomāyumaṇḍalagato na vibhāti siṃhaḥ |
            jātyo na bhāti turagaḥ kharayūthamadhye,
            vidvānna bhāti puruṣeṣu nirakṣareṣu || CV 8.7

            The goose does not shine among crows, the lion does not shine among jack-
            als, the horse does not shine among asses by its noble birth, the wise man
            does not shine among illiterate people.(Translation taken from Hahn 2010)

Likewise, in the following Pāli *nīti gāthā, Anuṣṭubha* metre is applied –

Pāli: *na titti rājā dhanamhi,*
             paṇḍitopi su-bhāsite |
             cakkhuṃpi piya-dassane,
             jale sāgaro na titti || Ln 35

             A king is not satisfied with his wealth, a wise man with well uttered dis-
             course; the eye in seeing a lover, and the sea with its water.

— whereas in Sanskrit the verse is composed in *Upendravajrā* metre:

Sanskrit: *na tṛpti rājā dhanasañcayena,*
            na sāgaraḥ tṛptir nadījalena |
            na paṇḍitāḥ tṛptiḥ subhāṣitena,
            na cakṣutṛptiḥ priyadarśanena || Prś 49

            A king is not satisfied with collection of wealth, and the sea is not satisfied
            with the water of river, a wise man with well uttered discourse and the eye
            in seeing a lover.

Here the metre is defective. There might be a better version elsewhere. An attempt
is made here to make a metrically correct version which is given below:

             tṛptir na rājño dhanasañcayena
             na sāgarasyāpi nadījalena |
             na paṇḍitasyāpi subhāṣitena
             na cakṣuṣaḥ syāt priyadarśanena ||

In the same way the following *gāthā* is set in *Anuṣṭubha*:

Pāli: *pabbe pabbe kamenucchu,*
             visesarasavāggato ||
             tathā sumettiko sādhu,
             viparītova dujjano || Ln 162

> The sugar-cane is better tasting knot after knot from the tip: a good friend
> is like that; a bad man just the reverse.

— while the Sanskrit verse is set in *Āryā* metre:

Sanskrit: *ikṣor agrāt kramaśaḥ,*
parvaṇi parvaṇi yathā rasaviśeṣaḥ |
tadvaddhi sujanamaitrī,
viparītānāṃ tu viparītā || PP 2.31 and PS 1.149, SRH 36.26

> Each segment of a sugar-cane beyond the tip is sweeter; the friendship of
> the good is so — the other kind grows bitter. (Translation taken from MSS
> 5742)

The following *gāthā* is also an example of the same.

Pāli: *najjo pivanti no āpaṃ,*
rukkhā khādanti no phalaṃ |
vassanti kvaci no meghā,
paratthāya sataṃ dhanaṃ || Ln 64

> Rivers do not drink up their water, nor trees eat up their fruit; rain does not
> fall in some places only: the wealth of the virtuous is for others.

Sanskrit: *pibanti nadyaḥ svayaṃ eva nāmbhaḥ*
khādanti na svāduphalāni vṛkṣāḥ |
payodharo na kvacid atti sasyaṃ,
paropakārāya satāṃ vibhūtiḥ || SRH 36.32 and PS 3

> Rivers do not drink their water, the trees do not eat (their own) fruits, the
> cloud never eats crops, (indeed) the lives of the virtuous are for the welfare
> of others.

3.2 Impact of abridgement of metre on style and expression

Due to the selection of short metres for Pāli works transformed from Sanskrit, prob-
ably, there has been a change in the style and expression of Pāli works. In the *gāthā* –

Pāli: *bhojanaṃ methunaṃ niddā,*
gave pose ca vijjati |
vijjā viseso posassa,
taṃ hīno gosamo bhave || Ln 22

> (For translation and Sanskrit source see above section 3.1, p.97)

— a compounded word in the Sanskrit verse '*āhāra-nidrā-bhaya-maithunāni*' is
replaced by three independent words in Pāli '*bhojanaṃ methunaṃ niddā*'. Owing to
the abridgement of the metre in Pāli, the word '*bhaya*' from the Sanskrit verse can-
not be included in the *gāthā*. There seem to be some other restrictive effects on the
Pāli *gāthā*s due to the conciseness of metres. For example in the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *dhanahīne caje mitto,*
puttadārā sahodarā |
dhanavantaṃva sevanti,
dhanaṃ loke mahā sakhā || Ln 81

> In poverty a friend, son, wife, brother or sister may forsake (one); when one is rich they associate (with one): wealth in this world is a great friend.

— which is a Pāli form of the following Sanskrit verse composed in *Upajāti*:

Sanskrit: *tyajanti mitrāṇi dhanena hīnaṃ,*
putrāśca dārāśca sahodarāśca |
tamarthavantaṃ punareva yānti,
hyartho 'tra loko puruṣasya bandhuḥ ‖ PP 2.106 and PRE 2.33

> Friends abandon a person who does not have money; son, relatives and wife also in this context. All should run after the person having money; wealth in this world is only to be treated as friend exclusively and nothing else.

Here, the writer had to use the potential third-person singular form '*caje*' in place of the present tense third-person plural '*tyajanti*' form from the Sanskrit verse. On the one hand this adjustment does not match the plural subjects in the *gāthā* and, on the other, it transforms the universal statement into a potential construction. It is obvious that the translator does not have any other two-syllable form to choose than '*caje*'. It has become essential to use a compounded word in the first and the second line of the *gāthā* when there is a non-compound construction in the Sanskrit verse. For example, the word '*dhanahīne*' is used in place of the words '*dhanena hīnaṃ*', and the words '*puttadārā sahodarā*' in place of the words '*putrāśca dārāśca sahodarāśca*'. Due to the abridgement of metre, the translator was compelled to change the content in the third line of the *gāthā*. The abridgement of metre has not only affected the content but also the style of poetry. The expression was condensed so much that the poetic style in the Sanskrit verse is not perceptible at all in the above *gāthā*.

Another example in this context we can see in the following Pāli *nīti gāthā*:

Pāli: *udeti bhānu pacchime,*
merurājā pi namati |
sītalo narakaggi pi,
pabbatagge ca uppalaṃ |
vikase na viparītaṃ,
sādhuvācā kudācanaṃ ‖ Ln 49

> Should the sun rise in the west, and Meru, King of mountains bend — should the fire of hell grow cold and the lily grow on the mountain-top, the speech of righteous people never changes.

This *gāthā* is an imitation of the following Sanskrit verse:

Sanskrit: *udayati yadi bhānuḥ paścime digvibhāge,*
pracalati yadi meruḥ śītatāṃ yāti vahniḥ |
vikasati yadi padmaṃ parvatāgre śilāyāṃ,
na bhavati punaruktaṃ bhāṣaṇaṃ sajjanānām ‖ Bhś 426

> Though the sun may rise in the western quarter, though Mount Meru be moved and fire become cold, though a water-lily blooms forth on a rock upon a mountain-top, the speech of virtuous people is free from the fault of repetition.

Here the Sanskrit verse composed in the *Mālinī* metre is transformed into a verse containing 6 lines of 8 syllables each in Pāli. In other words the purport expressed in 60 words in Sanskrit is conveyed in 48 words in Pāli. Though the content has not been affected here, the poetical essence has definitely been altered and disturbed. As far as the meaning is concerned, the Sanskrit verse states that 'the speech of virtuous people is free from the fault of repetition' whereas the Pāli version says that 'the speech of the righteous people never changes'.

The above mentioned *gāthā* '*na titti rājā dhanamhi, paṇḍitopi subhāsite, cakkhuṃpi piya-dassane, jale sāgaro na titti*' (Ln 35, see 3.1, p.98) is an example of curtailment of expression without affecting the sense or meaning. In that instance, the translator has condensed the *Upendravajrā* metre of the Sanskrit verse by abandoning only such words which do not alter the meaning in any way. The use of locative forms like '*dhanamhi*' etc. in Pāli for instrumental forms like '*dhanasañcayena*', '*nadījalena*', '*subhāṣitena*', '*priyadarśanena*' indicating instrument or cause in Sanskrit is praise-worthy as far as style is concerned.

It is clear from the above instances that due to the choice of short-lettered metres the Pāli translator has, while translating, adopted many linguistic as well as stylistic techniques in which the selection of compound and non-compound constructions as well as the use of particular nominal or verbal forms is noteworthy. But even after adopting these techniques, the translator could not avoid the loss of poetical essence, abridgement of content or even a change in content as inevitable consequences of the changes.

3.3 Selection of particular words or collection of words

The language of the *nīti* texts can be called the Pāli of the new age. The creation of this new form of Pāli, influenced so deeply by Sanskrit, can be regarded as the specialty of this new age. In this new age Pāli, many originally non-existent/absent Sanskrit words were adopted in their Pāli forms and Pāli words were used with different meanings according to Sanskrit usages. In a way this new age can be regarded as the age of making Sanskritic-Pāli. Some examples of this process found in the Pāli *nīti* literature in general and the *Lokanīti* in particular are discussed below.

3.3.1 Nominal forms

The Pāli word *ñāṇī* (Ln 2d) meaning 'erudite' is not found in the most ancient Pāli texts. This word is found in relatively later texts like the *Mahāniddesa* (I.55), the *Cullaniddesa* (36) and in the *Kathāvatthu* (451). In the same way, words like '*akka*' and '*hutāsana*' are used in the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *piṭṭhito 'kkaṃ niseveyya,*
             kucchiyā va hutāsanaṃ |
             sāminaṃ sabbabhāvena,
             paralokaṃ amāyāya || Ln 124

(The heat of) the sun should be taken with the back turned towards the sun, (the heat of) the fire by the stomach; a husband should be served with all devotion, the next world with non-illusion.

— which is imitated from the following Sanskrit verse

> pṛṣṭhato 'rkaṃ niṣeveta,
> jaṭhareṇa hutāśanam |
> svāminaṃ sarvabhāvena,
> paralokam amāyayā || CR 8.52, HJ 2.32, HK 2.34, HP 2.30, Nśv 7

> (The heat of) the sun should be taken with the back turned towards the sun,
> (the heat of) the digesting fire by the stomach; a husband should be served
> with all means, the next world with non-illusion.

The Pāli parallels of the Sanskrit words '*arka*' and '*hutāśanam*' are '*akka*' and '*hutāsana*'. If the use of these words in the Pāli literature is analyzed, it becomes clear that the word '*akka*' is used in the sense of the sun for the first time in the *Saddanīti* (283) and *Abhidhānappadipikā* (Abh, 11). Of course this word is not used in the sense of the sun in the typical language of the Tipiṭaka. Similarly, the word '*hutāsana*' does not occur in the old Pāli texts. It is found in the *Apadāna* (I.20) and later commentarial (Th-a: I.183, Ap-a: 225) literature. It would not be proper to call this tendency to imitate the Sanskrit words as blind following. There are instances where the translator has deliberately selected more prevalent Pāli alternatives in place of unfamiliar Sanskrit words. For example in the following *gāthā* of the Ln 153:

> Pāli: guru siddho sippārambho,
>   ravisokro ca majjhimo |
>   na sippo buddhacandaro,
>   sorī aṅgā ca maraṇaṃ ||

> Beginning a study on Thursday is the consummation of that study; begin-
> ning on Sunday or Friday is doing but half; beginning on Wednesday or Mon-
> day is learning nothing; beginning on Saturday or Tuesday occasions death.

— whose parallel is found in the following *śloka* of JSS 121:

> Sanskrit: vidyārambhe guruḥ śreṣṭho
>   madhyamau bhṛgubhāskarau |
>   budhe saume ca vidyāyāṃ,
>   śanibhaumau parityajet ||

> Thursday is considered to be the best day for the commencement of study;
> Friday   and Sunday are considered to be moderately good, whereas the rest,
> namely, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday should be avoided.

Here the Pāli *nītikāra* has used '*sokro*' in place of '*bhṛgu*', '*ravi*' in place of '*bhāskarau*', and '*candaro*' in place of '*saume*'. Similarly in place of '*śani*', '*sorī*' (son of sun) and in place of '*bhauma*', '*aṅgā*(ra)', the chosen words being more popular in Pāli.

3.3.2 Verbal forms

We also find some verbal forms which are very peculiar in terms of usage and appli-
cation. For example the form '*nidhāpaye*' (Ln 5.2) is not found in the Tipiṭaka or the commentaries. The first use of this word is traced in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. It is used later by some Burmese teachers like Ledi Sayadaw in their works. The root '√*bhaṇ*' is used in the active voice or *parasmaipada* (literally means 'word for another') in

the Tipiṭaka and commentaries. The *Lokanīti* (12d) is the only text which uses the root in *Atmanepada* (literally means 'word for self') which is the result of absolute imitation of Sanskrit. Another instance is the form '*niseveyya*' (Ln 124a) which is the Pāli alternative of Sanskrit '*niṣeveta*'. In Sanskrit the root '√*sev*' with the prefix '*ni*' means to serve. The root is not generally used in this sense in Pāli. It is used in the sense of 'using', 'behaving', 'following', 'being', 'connected' or 'getting engaged'. This process of establishing Pāli forms of Sanskrit words with meanings not prevalent in Pāli is apparent from the period of commentaries and seems to have grown gradually by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

3.4 Sensitivity towards language

While translating Sanskrit verses into Pāli, the sensitivity of the translator towards language is clearly apparent in some places. When selecting Pāli alternatives for Sanskrit words the translator has selected non-technical words in place of the Buddhist technical words. Sometimes the translator has also tried to remove perceptible defects in the Sanskrit constructions and to improve the constructions. Some examples of these are given below.

3.4.1. Selection of non-technical words in place of technical words

In the following Pāli *gāthā*

> *bhojanaṃ methunaṃ niddā,*
> *goṇe posepi vijjati |*
> *vijjā viseso posassa,*
> *taṃ hīno gosamo bhave ‖* Ln 22 (for English translation see above 3.1, p.97)

— which is based on this Sanskrit verse:

> *āhāranidrābhayamaithunāni,*
> *samāni caītāni nṛṇāṃ paśūnām |*
> *jñānaṃ narāṇām adhiko viśeṣo,*
> *jñānena hīnāḥ paśubhiḥ samānāḥ ‖* CV 17.17 (for English translation see above
>   3.1, p.97)

— while translating the Sanskrit word '*āhāra*' the translator has purposefully used the word '*bhojana*' which is more commonly used for food, in place of '*āhāra*' even when '*āhāra*' is also available in Pāli in the same sense. It has to be understood here that though the word '*āhāra*' means also food in Pāli, it is prominently used in sense of nourishment which is a technical word. Keeping this in mind, the translator has selected the non-technical word '*bhojana*' instead of the technical word '*āhāra*'. It may further be noted that the word *āhāra*, if used in the said Pāli *gāthā*, would not disturb the metre. It is therefore clear that the translator uses the word *bhojana* as this has a more general sense. Another example of the same can be seen in the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *calatyekena pādena,*
         tiṭṭhatyekena paṇḍito |
         anisamma paraṃ ṭhānaṃ,
         pubbamāyatana caje ‖

> A wise man moves one foot (only) when the other foot is set in place: one
> should not abandon the old place of residence, before one finds another
> place of dwelling.

This *gāthā* is based on the following *śloka*:

Sanskrit: *calatyekena pādena,*
           tiṣṭhatyekena paṇḍitaḥ |
           nāsamīkṣya paraṃ sthānam,
           pūrvaṃ āyatanaṃ tyajet || Cv 1.8 and PP 1.77, ŚP 1463

> With one foot a wise man moves; with one he stands still. Without having
> seen another place (of abode), he ought not to leave a former habitation.
> (Translation taken fromMSS 14133)

Here, Pāli words '*anisamma*' and '*ālayaṃ*' are used. It seems that the word '*anisamma*'
is used due to stylistic reasons. But the use of the word '*ālayaṃ*' in place of '*āyatanaṃ*'
seems clearly to avoid using the technical word '*āyatanaṃ*' in Pāli. The same kind of
change is found in the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *pakkhīnaṃ balamākāso,*
        macchānamudakaṃ balaṃ |
        dubbalassabalaṃ rājā,
        kumārānaṃ rudaṃ balaṃ || Ln 118

> The strength of birds lies in air, that of fish in water; the strength of the
> helpless is in a king, of children in tears.

— which is based on this Sanskrit verse:

Sanskrit: *pakṣīnāṃ balam ākāśaṃ*
           matsyānām udakaṃ balam |
           durbalasya balaṃ rājā,
           bālānāṃ ruditaṃ balam || Vyās 90 and SRH 238.33

> (The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is
> not given.)

Here the Pāli *nītikāra* has thoughtfully selected the Pāli word '*kumārānaṃ*' in place
of the Sanskrit word '*bālānāṃ*'. It is well known that the word '*bāla*' means a 'child'
and also a 'foolish person'. It appears that the translator has used the word '*kumāra*'
to avoid misunderstanding of meaning. It is also possible to say that it is used for
the sake of the metre where a three-syllabic word (*kumāra*), instead of a two-syllabic
one (i.e. *bāla*) is required.

3.4.2 Efforts to improve construction

Sometimes the translator, while translating, has tried to improve shortcomings in
the expression of the Sanskrit verses. For example we can see the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *candanaṃ sītalaṃ loke,*
           tato candaṃ va sītalaṃ |
           candancandasītamahā,
           sādhu vākyaṃ subhāsitaṃ || Ln 48

> Sandalwood is pleasant in the world, (but) the moon (light) is more pleasant, (indeed) far pleasanter than sandalwood and the moon is the well uttered discourse of the righteous.

This Pāli *gāthā* is based on the following Sanskrit verse:

Sanskrit: *śītalaṃ candanaṃ loke,*
candanād api candramāḥ |
candracandanayor madhye,
śītalaḥ sādhusaṃgamaḥ || CR 8.72, Shn 43, CM 184

> Sandalwood is pleasant in the world, (but) the moon (light) is more pleasant than sandalwood. And the pleasure of association with good people is between (that of) sandalwood and the moon.

The last half of the Sanskrit verse is aptly altered in Pāli. The comparative construction in the first half of the Sanskrit verse is expected to be repeated in the last half as well from the stylistic point of view. But instead there is an awkward construction in Sanskrit. The translator has successfully removed this defect and has used a comparative construction in Pāli. Similarly in the following Pāli *gāthā*:

Pāli: *padumaṃva mukhaṃ yassa,*
vācā candanasītalā |
tādisaṃ nopaseveyya,
hadayetu halāhalaṃ || Ln 88

> Whose face is like the lotus flower and speech as pleasant as sandalwood, one should not associate with such a person, there being poison in his heart.

This *gāthā* is based on following Sanskrit verse:

Sanskrit: *mukhaṃ padmadalākāraṃ,*
vācā candanaśītalā |
madhu tiṣṭhati jivhāgre,
hṛdaye tu halāhalam || Prś 57, Shn 94

> A face like a lotus flower and speech as cool as sandalwood, as with honey on the tip of the tongue; (yet) there is poison in the heart.

Here, in Sanskrit there is no mention of how such a person should be treated. Probably thinking this as a defect, the translator has changed the third line of the Sanskrit verse to '*tādisaṃ nopaseveyya*', a moral discourse, thereby completing the sense of the verse. The present verse has another version in Sanskrit:

> *mukhaṃ padmadalākāraṃ,*
> *vāṇī candanaśītalā |*
> *hṛdayaṃ krodhasaṃraktaṃ*
> *trividhaṃ dhūrtalakṣaṇam ||*

> A face like the lotus flower, speech is as pleasant as sandalwood and a heart full of anger — this is a three-fold characteristic of a wicked one.

It is possible that the Pāli *gāthā* is based on this parallel Sanskrit verse.

3.5. Particular length of expression

A writer selects a particular length of expression to put forth his ideas. It is not just difficult but almost impossible to maintain the same length of expression in translated/transformed literature. The Ln *gāthā* 31 –

Pāli: *anavhāyaṃ gamayanto,*
        apucchā bahu-bhāsako |
        atta-guṇaṃ pakāsento,
        ti-vidhaṃ hīna-lakkhaṇaṃ ||

> Going to a place uninvited, speaking much when not questioned, proclaiming one's own merits: these three things are the characteristics of a base person.

— is an appropriate example in this context. The following Sanskrit verse –

> *anāhūte praveśaś ca,*
> *stutiś ca savātmavarṇasya |*
> *na pṛṣṭe bahubhāṣaṇam,*
> *ity evaṃ mūrkhalakṣaṇam ||* Vyās 46, SRH 28.1

> Entering a place uninvited, talking much without being asked, praising one's own caste — this is the sign of a fool.

– is suggested as a parallel to this *gāthā* by Bechert and Braun (1981, 44). If we compare these two verses the following facts come to light: in Sanskrit, the condition or situation is expressed in the locative case, whereas in Pāli the words *gamayanto* and *pakāsento* are present participles. In the same way, abstract nouns are used to express qualities in Sanskrit, whereas in the Pāli version personal nouns are used which do not correspond well with the word '*hīna-lakkhaṇaṃ*' in the last line of the *gāthā*. In this case, it is impossible to say why the Pāli *nītikāra* selected a different length of expression even when it was possible for him to compose a perfect imitation of the Sanskrit verse, though he may have had a different Sanskrit verse with the same length of expression.

The following Pāli *nīti gāthā* —

Pāli: *bhamarā pupphamicchanti,*
        guṇamicchanti sujanā |
        makkhikā pūtimicchanti,
        dosamicchanti dujjanā || Ln 51

> Bees wish for flowers; good men for what is virtuous; flies for what is putrid; bad men for defects (in others).

– is based on following Sanskrit verse:

Sanskrit: *makṣikā varaṇaṃ icchanti,*
            puṣpam icchanti ṣaṭpadāḥ |
            sajjanā guṇam icchanti,
            doṣam icchanti pāmarāḥ || CNW 58

> Flies like to fly around the face; butterflies like to fly around flowers; good people like good qualities and the bad people like faults.

Here there is a unique example of a particular length of expression. The writer has put the descriptions of virtuous and vicious men in the first and the second half of the *gāthā* and placed the respective illustrations at the beginning of each half. But the Sanskrit writer has arranged the illustrations in the first half and the difference between the virtuous and vicious is stated in the last half. This change brought in by the Pāli *nītikāra* can be regarded as an effort to give the composition a different order of expression.

A similar case is that of the following Pāli *nīti gāthā* –

Pāli: *aputtakaṃ gharaṃ suññaṃ,*
          raṭṭhaṃ suññaṃ arājakaṃ |
          asippassa mukhaṃ suññaṃ,
          sabbasuññaṃ daliddakā ‖ Ln 115

> Empty is the sonless home; empty a kingdom without a king; empty the utterance of an illiterate man; empty is everything in respect of a poor vagrant.

– which is based on the Sanskrit verse

> *aputrasya gṛhaṃ śūnyaṃ,*
> *diśaḥ śūnyāstv abāndhavāḥ |*
> *mūrakhasya hṛdayaṃ śūnyaṃ,*
> *sarvaśūnyā daridratā ‖ CV 4.14 and Cv 7.9*
>
> Empty is the sonless home; one without relatives is empty of (any) direction (to go in). Empty-headed is a fool; empty is everything in respect of a poor vagrant.

Here the similarity between the Sanskrit verse and the Pāli *gāthā* is only in the first and the last line. The two middle lines do not match the Pāli *gāthā*. Either the source of the Pāli *gāthā* might be different or the writer deliberately changed the two lines in the middle. Another example is the *gāthā*

> *mātā puttakaraṃ pāpaṃ,*
> *sissapāpaṃ gurukatā |*
> *rājāraṭṭhakaraṃ pāpaṃ,*
> *rājapāpaṃ purohito ‖ Ln 128*
>
> An evil act done by a son (is considered to be the deed of) the mother, a pupil's (evil act is treated as that of) his teacher; the evil of the coutry is the evil of the king, and a king's that of his private chaplain.

The verse could alternatively be translated as:

> The mother (eliminates) the evil committed by the son; the (proper action) done by the teacher (eliminates) the evil doing of the disciple; the king (eliminates) the evil committed by the country; while the private chaplain (eradiates) the evil committed by the king.

This Pāli *gāthā* is based on Sanskrit verse CV 6.9, though the order of the lines is different:

rājā rāṣṭrakṛtam pāpaṃ,
rājñaḥ pāpaṃ purohitaḥ |
bhartā ca strīkṛtaṃ pāpaṃ
śiṣyapāpaṃ gurus tathā ||

A king (eliminates) peoples's evil doing, the royal chaplain the king's evil doing, a husband the evil doing of his wife (and) a teacher the pupils' evil doing.

In the absence of the main verb both in the Pāli *gāthā* and the Sanskrit verse, it is difficult to understand exactly what the poet wants to say. The translation is presented here assuming a probable and a suitable verbal form. As regards the transformation of the Sanskrit verse into Pāli, we can observe that the second line of the Sanskrit verse is the last line in the Pāli *gāthā* and the last line of the Sanskrit verse is the second line of the Pāli *gāthā*. The first line of the Sanskrit verse is also altered in Pāli. It is difficult to say whether this change in the content of the first line is due to different source or the change is made as a result of careful thought.

Similarly in the following Pāli *nīti gāthā,*

Pāli: *duṭṭhabhariyāsaṃvāso,*
          dāso c' uttaradāyako |
          sasappe ca ghare vāso,
          maccu eva na saṃsayo || Ln 126

          Living with a wicked wife, and a slave who answers back, dwelling in a house with snakes — this is the death itself, no doubt.

— which is based on Sanskrit verse of CV 1.5:

Sanskrit: *duṣṭā bhāryā śaṭhaṃ mitraṃ,*
           bhṛtyaś cottaradāyakaḥ |
           sasarpe ca gṛhe vāso,
           mṛtyur eva na saṃśayaḥ ||

           (Living with) a wicked wife, a treacherous friend, a servant who answers back (in retaliation), or in a house infested with snakes, is — it cannot be doubted — death itself.

Here, two things are noteworthy: in the first line of the Pāli *gāthā* the writer had to select the word '*saṃvāso*' due to the constraint on the number of the syllables in the Sanskrit words '*śaṭhaṃ mitraṃ*'. According to the rules of sound (*dhvani niyama*) in Pāli, the parallel of the four-syllabled Sanskrit word '*duṣṭā bhāryā*' is the five-syllabled word '*duṭṭhabhariyā*'. After using a five-syllabled word there is no space for a four-syllabled word and hence, the writer had to select a three-syllabled word '*saṃvāso*'.

Another example we can see in this *gāthā*:

Pāli: *mūḷhasissopadesena,*
          kunārī bharaṇena ca |
          asatā sampayogena,
          paṇḍitoppavasīdati || Ln 127

By giving instruction to a stupid pupil, by supporting a wicked wife, and by attachment to a person who is bad, even a wise man deteriorates.

— which is based on the following Sanskrit verse:

Sanskrit: *mūrkhaśiṣyopadeśena,*
duṣṭastrībharaṇena ca |
dviṣatā samprayogena,
paṇḍito 'pyavasīdati ‖ CV 1.4

(The Sanskrit maxim matches with Pāli therefore a separate translation is not given.)

Here, the Pāli *gāthā*'s use of '*kunārī*' and '*asatā*' in place of the Sanskrit words '*duṣṭastrī*' and '*dviṣatā*', respectively, is significant. It is significant grammatically that with the word '*samprayoga*' in the Sanskrit verse the genitive case is used in '*dviṣatā*', whereas according to Pāli rules of cases, the instrumental case is used.

3.6 Gāthās *with corrupt forms*

It is clear from all the above discussion that if the limitations of metre and expression are set aside, the Pāli translation of Sanskrit verses is done quite honestly. But in some cases it seems that their translation is corrupt. We can see this in the following *gāthā*:

Pāli: *sahāyo asamatthopi,*
tejasā kiṃkarissati |
nivātejalito aggī,
sayamevūpasampati ‖ Ln 133

What effects can an incompetent one exercise by his power, even if he has an ally? Fire, kindled at a place where there is no air, gets extinguished by itself.

— which is based on PtsK 3.54:

Sanskrit: *asahāyaḥ samartho pi,*
tejasvī kiṃ kariṣyati |
nirvāte jvalito vahniḥ,
svayam eva praśāmyati ‖

What can a person, however brilliant, do without help or good competence? Fire lighted where there is no air will be put out of its own accord.

Here, not only is there a contradiction in where the negative particle *a-* is placed in the first line, but also the word in the instrumental case, '*tejasā*' seems to be corrupt. The first line of the Pāli *gāthā* does not correspond well in meaning with its last line. The correct form of the first two lines of the Pāli *gāthā* may be given as: '*asahāyo samattho pi, tejassi kiṃ karissati*'.

In the same way in the following Pāli *nīti gāthā*–

guṇe sabbaññutulyo pi,
na sobhati anissayo |
anagghamapi maṇinā,
hemaṃ nissāya sobhate ‖ Ln 137

> One, replete with excellence like the Omniscient, does not appear to advantage without a patron: a gem, though priceless, looks well being set in gold.

— also seems to be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit verse CV 16.10.

> *guṇaiḥ sarvajñatulyo pi*
> *sīdatyeko nirāśrayaḥ |*
> *anarghyamapi māṇikyaṃ*
> *hemāśrayamapekṣate ||*
>
> Even if equal to an Omniscient in virtues, one who is alone suffers for want of support. The ruby though priceless, needs the support of gold (to reveal its true worth). (Translation is taken from MSS 13202)

The word in instrumental '*maṇinā*' in the third line of the Pāli *gāthā* seems grammatically defective. It neither corresponds with its adjective '*anaggham*' nor with its active verb '*sobhate*'. The line '*anagghampi māṇikyaṃ*' could have been the correct expression from all angles. Apart from this, though, the use of locative form '*guṇe*' in place of the instrumental form in Sanskrit and the use of '*anissayo*' in place of '*nirāśrayaḥ*' are examples of translation skills of the writer.

3.7 Cases where there is uncertainty on Sanskrit sources

In all the above discussion, we have been able to trace the Sanskrit sources of Pāli *gāthā*s. But there are some *gāthā*s where, even though the parallel Sanskrit verses have been traced, it cannot be said with a hundred percent certainty that they are the sources of Pāli *gāthā*s. An example in this Ln *gāthā* 68:

> *atippiyo na kātabbo, khalo kotūhalaṃ karo |*
> *sirasā vahyamānopi, aḍḍhapūro ghaṭo yathā ||*
>
> A wicked man should not be loved much, being as unstable as a jar half-full of water carried along on the head.

— which is based on Sanskrit verse Subh 276:

> *atiyatnagṛhīto pi khalaḥ khalakhalāyate |*
> *śirsā dhāryamāno pi toyasyārdhaghaṭo yathā ||*
>
> Although held (firmly) with great effort, the wicked person grumbles like a pot half filled with water although (honoured by) being carried on one's head. (Translation by Hahn (2011, 309), from Tibetan.)

Here, there is doubt about the first part even when there is a lot of similarity in the last part. In the Sanskrit verse, the verbal form *khalakhalāyate* appears to have been used to denote a play on words. First, there is alliteration accomplished by the uasage of the word *khala-* and then a denomiative form *khalakhalāyate*, which is probably used in the sense of 'he acts again again liked a wicked one' (?). This verbal form is also to be connected to the word '*arshaghaṭaḥ*', 'an earthen jar half-filled (with water)' in the second line. In this case, the verbal form *khalakhalāyate* should be taken to mean '(it) makes a sound'. The verbal form is to be taken in a different sense, meaning '(the jar) makes sound such as *khal, khal*. Thus, here the verbal form is onomatopoeic. One is reminded of a Marathi proverb, *uthaḷ pāṇyālā khaḷkhaāṭ phār,*

'the shallow water makes much sound', where the word *khaḷkhaāṭ* is onomatopoeic and is used in the sense of the sound *khaḷ khaḷ* that the shallow water makes. It is observed many times that the writer makes changes in the original compositions out of his literary skill. It is possible that the Pāli *nītikāra*s had other sources before him than what we are aware of, or he might have made minor changes from the Sanskrit verse owing to his literary talent.

Similarly, in Ln 160:

> *dhanadhaññapayogesu,*
> *tathā vidyāgamesu ca* |
> *dūtesu apacāresu,*
> *cattalajjo sadā bhave* ||

> Hesitancy is cast off on occasions such as paddy is being sold and knowledge is being acquired, when a messenger is being sent and desire is being gratified.

This, except for the third line, is similar to the Sanskrit verse CN 33.

> *dhanadhānyaprayogeṣu,*
> *tathā vidyāgameṣu ca* |
> *āhāre vyavahāre ca,*
> *tyaktalajjaḥ sadā bhavet* ||

> One who does not hesitate completes the work — in financial and food-grains deals, acquisition of knowledge, eating and mutual dealing.

The third line in Pāli is '*dūtesu apacāresu*' 'when a messenger is being sent and desire is being gratified' instead of the Sanskrit '*āhāre vyavahāre*' 'in diet and speech'. In all the other *gāthā*s of Pāli *nīti* texts, the effort is to modify the content in the Sanskrit verses to according to morality and Buddhist thought. But this is the only *gāthā* where the opposite tendency appears. Probably the Sanskrit source of this *gāthā* is different from the one known to us as there seems no other reason for this change.

Conclusion

The process of translating literature from one language to another is not just a process of linguistic change; it is also a cultural change. By a linguistic and stylistic study of this kind, some light can be thrown on the process of linguistic and cultural change, and we can gain knowledge about the principles and linguistic techniques adopted by the Pāli scholars. In this case the Ln is the best example where the author or compiler of the text has chosen many Sanskrit verses (representing Brahmanic notions) and translated it into Pāli for a Buddhist audience. As we have seen through the above discussions, in some cases the author has incorporated Sanskrit verses that are secular in nature without any change. But this is not the usual practice of the author throughout the text. We have seen that the author has also shaded secular *gāthā*s with the colour of Buddhism. However, even with all due attention and required changes, the author was unable to fully incorporate Sanskrit verses which appear to be inconsistent with Buddhist thought. In

the process of translation and transition of the Sanskrit verses, the author has used many techniques which are reflected in the choice of metre, style and expression, application of particular words or collection of words, and sensitivity towards language etc. The need for further and deep study on this rather neglected subject is implied by this study.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

(Pali Texts quoted here are from Pali Text Society (PTS) editions.)

Abh	*Abhidhānappadipikā. Pālikosasaṃgaho: Abhidhānappadīpikā va ekakkharakosa.* Ed. Bhāgachandra Jaina Bhāskar. 1974. Nagpur: Āloka Prakāshana.
Ap-a	*Visuddhajanavilāsinī nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā.* ed. by C. E. Godakumbura. 1954. London. PTS.
Bhś	*Śatakatrayādi-subhāṣitasaṃgraha: The epigrams attributed to Bhartṛhari,* ed. D.D. Kosambi, Bombay, 1948 (Siṃghī Jaina Granthamālā 23).
CM	*Cāṇakya, Recension de cinq recueils de stances morales*, ed. E. Monseur, Paris 1887.
CN	*Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* version, as contained in CNTT
CNTT	*Cāṇakya-Nīti Text Tradition*, ed. L. Sternbach. (1962–1970). 2 vols. with 5 pts., Hoshiarpur 1962–1970 (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 27–29 [vol. I, pt. 1 contains the texts: *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, textus ornatior (CV); *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, textus simplicior (Cv); *Cāṇakya nīti-śāstra* (CN); *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha* (CS); vol. I, pt. 2 contains thetexts: *Laghu- Cāṇakya* (CL); *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* (CR); vol. II part 1: Introduction; vol. II, part 2 and 3: An attempt to reconstruct the Urtext (Cr)]
CNW	'Über 100 Sprüche des Cāṇakya', A. Weber, *Monatsberichte der Kgl. Preuss.* Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1864, pp. 400-431, Berlin 1865
Cr	'Urtext', see CNTT, vol. II
CR	*Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* version, as contained in CNTT
CS	*Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgrajha* version, as contained in CNTT
CV	*Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, textus ornatior version, as contained in CNTT
Cv	*Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, textus simplicior version, as contained in CNTT
Dhn	*Dhammanīti,* as contained in PNTB
HJ	*Hitopadeśa*, ed. F. Johnson, Hertford and London, 1864.

HK	*The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa*, ed. M.R. Kale, Delhi 1967.
HP	*Hitopadeśa by Nārāyaṇa,* ed. P. Peterson, Bombay, 1887 (Bombay Sanskrit Series 33)
JSS	*Jyotiṣa Sarva Saṃgraha*, ed. by Paṃḍita Rāmasvarūpa Śarmmā. Mathurā: Hindi Pustakālya. (No date of publicaion)
Ln	*Lokanīti*, as contained in PNTB
LnK	*Lokanīti: Devanāgarī Saṃsakraṇa evaṃ Hindi Anuvāda*, ed. and Hindi transl. Ujjwal Kumar, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, 2015
Mhn	*Mahārahanīti*, as contained in PNTB
MSS	*Mahā-subhāṣita-saṃgrahaḥ.* Vols. I–IV ed. by L. Sternbach. (1974–1980), Vol. V ed. by K. V. Sharma (1981), VI and VII ed. by S. Bhaskaran Nair (1987, 1999), and Vol. VIII ed. by Indra Dutt Uniyal (2007). Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute
Nśv	'On the Nītiśastraviniścaya, a *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* from Sri Lanka'. By Heinz Bechert. In *Indologica Taurinensia*: *Dr. Ludwik Sternbach Felicitation Volume*, 7: 83–92. 1979
PNTB	*Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma,* ed. Heinz Bechert and Heinz Braun, London, PTS, 1981
PP	*ThePanchatantra, A collection of ancient Hindu tales in the recension called Panchakhyanaka of Purnabhadra,* crit. ed. J. Hertel, 2 vols., Cambridge/ Mass. 1908, 1912 (Harvard Oriental Series 11, 12)
PRE	*The Panchatantra reconstructed,* by F. Edgerton, 2 vols., New Haven 1924 (American Oriental Series 2, 3)
Prś	'Pratyayaśatakaya', *Siṃphala Granthāṃavya hevat Sihaḷa Gatsayura,* Library of Sinhalese Classics, ed. A. M. G[uṇasekara], Ceylon (no date), pp. 117–130
PS	*Das siidliche Pañcatantra, Sanskrittext der Recension ß mit den Lesarten der besten HSs der Recension a,* ed. J. Hertel, Leipzig 1906 (Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 24, 5)
Pts	*Pañcatantra* (textus simplicior), ed. F. Kielhorn (voL 1) and G. Bühler (vols. 2-5), 5 vols., Bombay 1891-96 (Bombay Sanskrit Series)
Shn	*Sīhalanīti.* See Bechert 1980
SRH	*The Sūktiratnahāra,* ed. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī, Trivandrum 1938 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 141)
Subh	*Subhāṣitārṇava*
SV	*The Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva*, ed: P. Peterson, Bombay 1886 (Bombay Sanskrit Series 31); second edition, Poona 1961
Th-a	*Paramattha-dīpanī Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā,* ed. F. L. Woodward, Vol. 1. London: PTS. 1971
Vṛddha Cāṇakya	See CNTT
Vyās	*The Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha.* See Sternbach 1969a
Vyās (C)	*Vyasakāra,* as edited in Bechert 1962, pp. 29–40

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